

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 6242

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: NOVEMBER 8 SPC MEETING: ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON
DETENTE

REF: USNATO 6098

BEGIN SUMMARY: NOVEMBER 8 SPC DISCUSSION ON DETENTE FOCUSED
ON SOVIET/EE EXPERTS ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET DETENTE ATTITUDES
AND ON GERMAN PAPER EXPANDING ON QUESTIONS CITED PARA 6
REFTEL. SPC WILL MEET ON NOVEMBER 13
AND 18 FOR DISCUSSION TO SERVE AS BASIS FOR CHAIRMAN'S
REPORT POSING QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION BY COUNCIL AND
MINISTERS. REQUEST GUIDANCE.
END SUMMARY.

1. NOVEMBER 8 SPC DISCUSSION ON DETENTE FOCUSED FIRST ON
SOVIET/EE EXPERTS PAPER (SEPTTEL) PREPARED IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS
POSED IN USNATO 6090. EXPERTS' PAPER WAS UNOFFICIAL AND
PREPARED SOLELY ON BASIS OF PERSONAL INPUTS. AS SUCH, IT
IS CONSIDERED AS AN SPC WORKING PAPER ONLY AND NOT AS AN
AGREED DOCUMENT. AS REPORTED USNATO 6193, FRENCH DID NOT
PARTICIPATE IN EXPERTS' PREPARATION OF PAPER AND HAVE
DISASSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM IT.
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2. IN DISCUSSING EXPERTS PAPER, SPC MEMBERS COMMENTED
FAVORABLY ON THOROUGHNESS OF REPORT BUT, AS EXPECTED,
QUESTIONED CERTAIN JUDGMENTS AND DETAILS. FIRST JUDGMENT QUES-
TIONED WAS PAPER ASSERTION THAT DETENTE IS AN INSTRUMENT

NOT AN OBJECTIVE OF SOVIET POLICY. SOME ALLIES AGREED WITH U.S. REP'S (PEREZ) VIEW THAT SOVIETS HAVE A STAKE IN DETENTE PER SE BOTH AS STRUCTURE PROVIDING EAST-WEST STABILITY AND AS A MEANS FOR AVOIDING NUCLEAR WAR. DUTCH REP (UWALDA), ON OTHER HAND, SAID THE NETHERLANDS DID NOT SEE DETENTE GOAL AS STABILITY OR MILITARY BALANCE BUT RATHER AS A CONDITION WHERE PREVAILING EAST/WEST CLIMATE WOULD NOT REQUIRE CONTINUED MILITARY CONFRONTATION. NETHERLANDS FELT THAT THE SOVIETS COULD NEVER SATISFY THE ABOVE CRITERION SHORT OF ABANDONING THEIR INTERNAL SYSTEM. FOR THAT REASON, DUTCH REP AGREED WITH EXPERTS ASSESSMENT THAT SOVIET DETENTE OBJECTIVES WERE PRIMARILY TACTICAL. OTHERS, SUCH AS SPC CHAIRMAN (KASTL), QUESTIONED VALIDITY OF ASSUMPTION THAT AGREEMENTS ON SUCH MATTERS AS TRADE AND THE ENVIRONMENT CONTRIBUTED IN ANY SUBSTANTIAL WAY TO A DETENTE STRUCTURE INHIBITING SOVIET ACTIONS. U.S. REP POINTED OUT THAT DURING THE COLD WAR INSTABILITY WAS CREATED BY A VICIOUS CYCLE OF ACTION AND REACTION WHICH WAS FED BY MUTUAL SUSPICION AND DISTRUST. DETENTE, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD PERMITTED EAST AND WEST TO RATIONALLY DISCUSS MATTERS THAT ARE AT THE ROOT OF TENSIONS--STRATEGIC ARMS COMPETITION OPPOSING CONVENTIONAL FORCES, ETC.

3. SPC ALSO DISCUSSED FRG DEL PAPER (SEPTEL) EXPANDING ON DETENTE QUESTIONS CITED PARA 6 USNATO 6098. ALLIED REPS AGREED THAT GERMAN PAPER HAD HELPED FOCUS SPC DISCUSSIONS AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT OTHER DELEGATIONS WOULD RAISE QUESTION IDENTIFYING POSSIBLE DIFFERENCES AMONG ALLIES, OTHER NATIONAL VIEWS AND PARTICULAR DETENTE PERSPECTIVES.

4. IN LATTER VEIN, UK REP (LOGAN) THOUGHT ALLIANCE SHOULD EXAMINE EXTENT TO WHICH SOVIET DETENTE POLICY IS CENTERED ON BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES, AND IN PARTICULAR ON SALT, MIGHT THERE NOT BE ELEMENT IN SOVIET RELATIONS WITH OTHER ALLIES WHICH COULD BE EXPLOITED TO WESTERN ADVANTAGE? MOREOVER, ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER DIFFERENT

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CES BETWEEN "EXTERNAL" AND "INTERNAL" ASPECTS OF SOVIET DETENTE POLICY.

5. WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO CSCE BASKET III, BELGIAN REP AGREED WITH PREVIOUS DUTCH ASSERTIONS THAT SOME MARGINS, HOWEVER LIMITED, MUST EXIST FOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS IN AREA OF HUMAN FREEDOMS. ALLIES SHOULD EXPLORE THESE MARGINS WITH THE SOVIETS AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WITHOUT, HOWEVER, JEOPARDIZING THE POSITION OF THE LATTER. BELGIAN REP ALSO NOTED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S INJUNCTION AGAINST APPLYING TOO MUCH "MORAL" PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS, BUT HE ASKED HOW WEST COULD BE TRULY CONFIDENT OF EASTERN COMMITMENT TO AND PERFORMANCE UNDER DETENTE AGREEMENTS WHEN THEIR SOCIETIES WERE SO CLOSED. BELGIAN REP ALSO SUGGESTED

THAT VIEWING RETURN TO COLD WAR AS THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO THE CONTINUED PURSUIT OF DETENTE MIGHT CAST OPTIONS IN AN ERRONEOUS LIGHT.

6. NORWEGIAN REP (SELMER) SAID ALLIES SHOULD ADDRESS EXTENT TO WHICH MILITARY ASPECTS OF DETENTE MIGHT BE GEOGRAPHICALLY CONFINED. WHILE SUCH CONFINEMENT WAS PERFORCE A SPECIAL FEATURE OF SALT, IT EXISTED ALSO IN CSCE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AND IN MBFR WHICH DIRECTLY AFFECTED ONLY CERTAIN ALLIED COUNTRIES.

7. IN DISCUSSING NEXT STEPS IN SPC EFFORT, ALLIES AGREED THAT DELEGATIONS SHOULD SUBMIT QUESTIONS SUCH AS THOSE RAISED BY GERMANS, BRITISH AND OTHERS AS WELL AS COMMENTS ON QUESTIONS ALREADY RAISED. THESE WOULD BE DISCUSSED AT NEXT MEETINGS NOVEMBER 13 AND 18 PREPARATORY TO A COUNCIL DISCUSSION ON NOVEMBER 20. COUNCIL DISCUSSION WILL BE HELD ON THE BASIS OF A REPORT FROM SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL WHICH WILL ATTEMPT TO DISTILL ISSUES AND IDENTIFY ANY POINTS OF DIFFERENCE AMONG ALLIES.

8. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPARTMENT COMMENT ON SPECIFIC QUESTIONS RAISED BY ALLIES AS WELL AS INDICATIONS OF ANY POINTS WASHINGTON WISHES US TO STRESS IN FINAL TWO SPC MEETINGS BEFORE NOVEMBER 20 NAC SESSION.
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